

program would not deserve to be called a Communist Party.

(2) There can be no doubt that the fact of involving the colored troops in the imperialistic war and at the present time in the occupation of German territory represents a carefully worked out and executed attempt of European, and in the first place of French and British capital, to find for themselves a force outside of chaotic Europe and by so doing to obtain the possibility of finding support, in case of necessity, in the mobilized, disciplined and armed African and Asiatic troops against the revolutionary masses of Europe. That is why the question of involving colored troops in imperialistic wars is closely connected with the question of revolution in Europe and, therefore, with the fate of the working class.

(3) There can be no doubt that the fact of involving the less civilized colonial masses in international imperialistic conflicts represents an experiment most dangerous for the ruling bourgeoisie itself. The black people, as well as the colonial natives generally, preserve conservatism and "mental immobility" only if they remain in their usual domestic surroundings. But when the hand of capital and even more - the hand of militarism - pulls them out of their usual living conditions and compels them to sacrifice their lives for the sake of complicated and now international questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie of various nations, or conflicts between the classes of the same nations,) then the conservative psychological stubbornness is immediately wiped

out and the revolutionary ideas are grasped by the disturbed minds.

(4) That is why it is so important now, at the present moment, to have even a small number of class-conscious negroes, young and devoted, interested in the improvement of the economic and moral level of the black race and at the same time capable of connecting morally its fate with the fate of the whole world and, in the first place, with the fate of the international working class.

The Training of the Black Agitators is the Most Important Revolutionary Problem of the Moment.

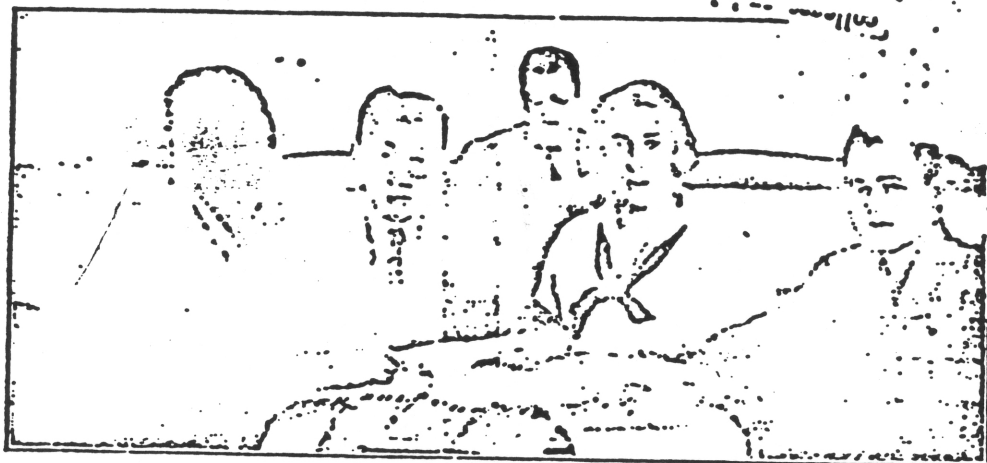
(5) This problem becomes more complicated in the United States of America on account of the abominable stupidity and race hatred among the privileged circles of the working class itself, which do not want to recognize negroes as brethren in labor and struggle. Comporn's policy is based entirely on this prejudice and up to the present time is the best guarantee for the enslavement of the white and black workmen. Boldly struggle against this policy must be carried on everywhere. One of the most important methods of struggle against this capitalistic corruption of minds is to wake up the human dignity and revolutionary protest among the black slaves of American capital. This work can be best carried on by the devoted and politically educated negro revolutionists. Naturally the work must not assume the character of "black chauvinism" but must be carried on in the spirit of solidarity among all laborers regardless of the color of their skin. I am at a loss to say what are the most expedient organization forms for the movement

-4-

among the American negroes because I am not familiar  
with the concrete conditions and possibilities. But  
the organization forms will be found as soon as suf-  
ficient will for action is displayed.

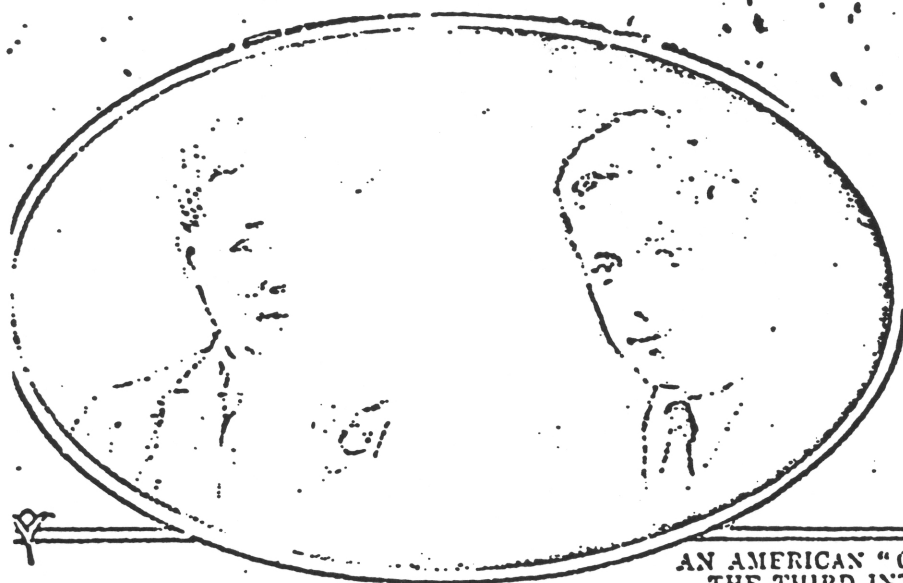
With communistic greetings,

(Signed) L. Trotsky.



# NEGROES AT COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

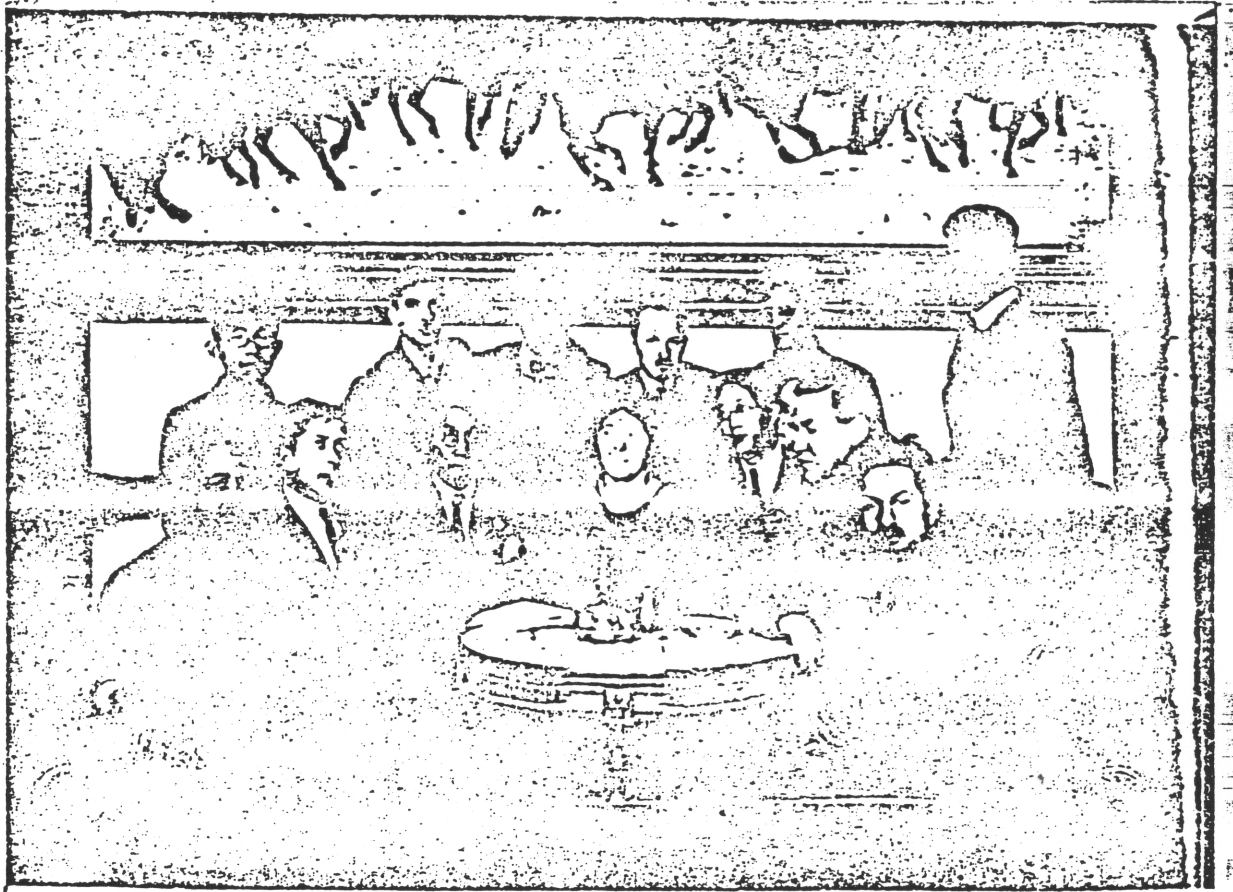
Two American negroes, Claude McKay (at extreme left of photograph) and J. Billings (at extreme right), discussing the calling of an all-negro conference at Moscow. San Katarama, the Japanese Socialist, is seated next to McKay



(The  
World Photo)

# AN AMERICAN "OBSERVER" AT THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IN MOSCOW: MAX EASTMAN,

Radical Leader, with Claude McKay, a Negro Poet, Who Watched the Proceedings of the Celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.  
(Times Wire World Photos)



TFB:J

March 10, 1923.

Mr. J. P. Rooney,  
Post Office Box 455,  
Chicago, Illinois.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of information to the effect that Claude McKay, Communist negro delegate from America to the Third International, is about to leave Copenhagen on his return to the United States.

It is possible that this subject may carry instructions and documents from the Communist International to the Communists in this country, together with a considerable sum of money, and it is therefore desired that should he endeavor to enter the United States through the territory covered by your office, that he be given a very careful examination, and the Bureau promptly advised.

Yours very truly,

*W. B.*  
Director.

61-3497 -17

WM. J. BURNS  
DIRECTOR



Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

March 12, 1923.

Mr. C. D. McKean,  
Post Office Box 523,  
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of information ~~to the~~ effect that Claude McKay, Communist negro delegate from America to the Third International, is about to leave Copenhagen on his return to the United States.

It is possible that this subject may carry instructions and documents from the Communist International to the Communists in this country, together with a considerable sum of money and it is therefore desired that should he endeavor to enter the United States through the territory covered by your office, that he be given a very careful examination, and the Bureau promptly advised.

Very truly yours

*W. J. Burns*  
Director.

61-3497

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

JGT-JWD.

NY File

March 12, 1923.

Director,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

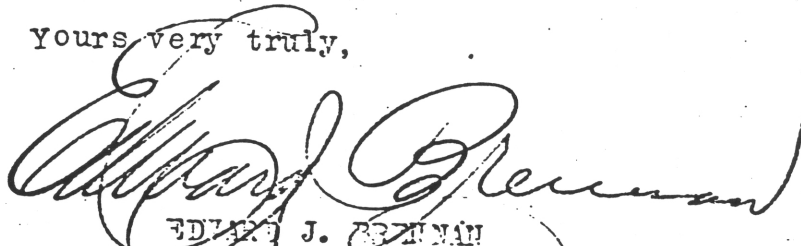
Attention: T. P. B.

Dear Sir :

IN RE: CLAUDE McKay-Negro Delegate to  
Third International, Moscow.

Acknowledgment is made of receipt of your letter of the 10th instant, initialed TTB-J, to the effect that Claude McKay, Negro Delegate from America to the Third International is about to leave Copenhagen on his return to the United States. In reply you are informed that every precaution will be taken to see that this man is carefully examined should he arrive at the Port of New York, and all under cover sources have been notified to bear the matter in mind.

Yours very truly,



EDWARD J. BRENNAN  
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

61-3497-20

WM. J. BURNS  
DIRECTOR



TJB:J

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

March 12, 1923.

Mr. C. D. McKean,  
Post Office Box 523,  
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir:

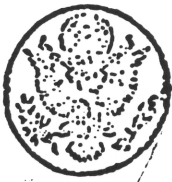
I am in receipt of information to the effect that Claude McKay, Communist negro delegate from America to the Third International, is about to leave Copenhagen on his return to the United States.

It is possible that this subject may carry instructions and documents from the Communist International to the Communists in this country, together with a considerable sum of money and it is therefore desired that should he endeavor to enter the United States through the territory covered by your office, that he be given a very careful examination, and the Bureau promptly advised.

Very truly yours.

*W. J. Burns*  
Director.

61-3497-28



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

March 17, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Under date of March 8, the Department received a cablegram from the American Legation at Copenhagen to the effect that CLAUDE MACKEY was reported to be leaving for the United States with instructions to organize a colored Soviet. The Department immediately requested the Legation to forward more definite information as to the vessel and date of departure.

Under date of March 15, the Legation replied in effect that they were unable to ascertain facts concerning Mackey's departure but learned that a Bolshevik agent of this name was recently ordered to proceed to The Hague from Norway. It is the opinion of our people abroad that if this agent is Claude Mackey, he will probably attempt to enter the United States via the West Indies.

Any further information which is received relative to this matter will be promptly forwarded to you.

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

# Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

FEDERAL BUILDING

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

March 17, 1923.

William J. Burns, Esq.,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

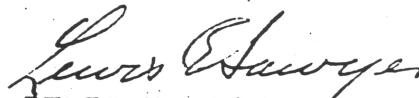
Dear Sir:-

Re: Claude McKay, Negro Communist.

Since receiving your letter dated March 10, 1923 initialed TFB-J, I have secured a copy of the magazine called "Soviet Russia Pictorial" issue of March 1923, supposed to be the official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia published at 201 W. 13th Str., New York. On page 48 of this publication, I find a photograph of Claude McKay and a photographic copy of same is enclosed.

Points of entry in this district have been notified and should subject endeavor to enter, this office will be notified.

Very truly yours,



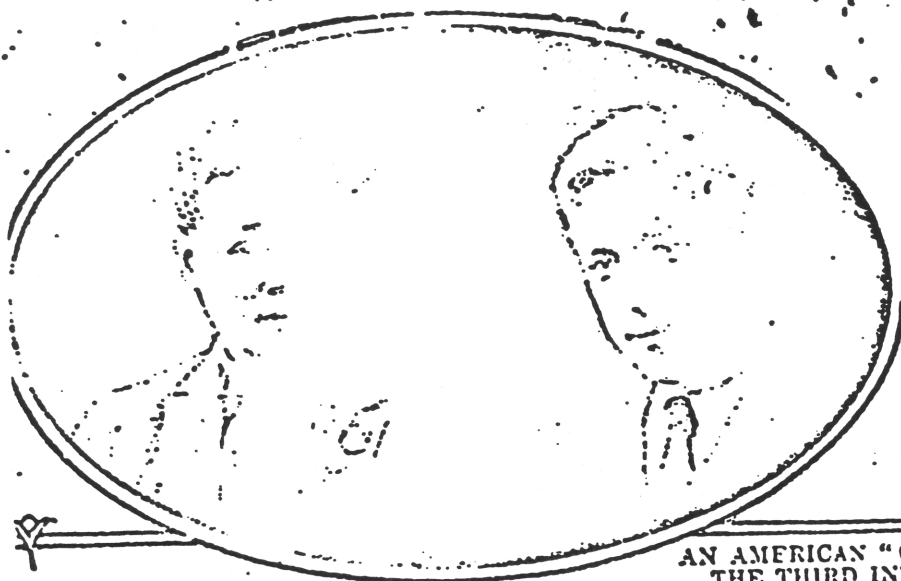
LEWIS E. SAWYER,  
Special Agent in Charge, Acting.

61-3497



#### NEGROES AT COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Two American negroes, Claude McKay (at extreme left of photograph) and J. Billings (at extreme right), discussing the calling of an all-negro conference at Moscow, San Katarama, the Japanese Socialist, is seated next to McKay



(The World Photo)

#### AN AMERICAN "OBSERVER" AT THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IN MOSCOW: MAX EASTMAN,

Radical Leader, with Claude McKay, a Negro Poet, Who Watched the Proceedings of the Celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. (Times Wire World Photos)

This case originate at Cleveland, Ohio, Journal? o to be made at orig. office

REPORT MADE AT: Cleveland, Ohio	DATE WHEN MADE: 3/19/'23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 3/19/'23	REPORT MADE BY: J. V. RYAN	ONLY.
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

CLAUDE McKAY

Communist Negro Delegate from  
American to the Third International.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Cleveland File No.

AT CLEVELAND OHIO:

Reference is made to Director's letter dated  
March 12, 1923, initialed TFB.J in above matter..

Through, a confidential source, I have learned  
that CLAUDE McKAY, Negro Communist Delegate from America to the Third International  
is said to have returned to this country over a month ago. He has been seen in  
Rand School and at the WORKERS PARTY headquarters, 799 Broadway, New York City, but  
nothing has been heard of him lately, and his present whereabouts are unknown.

If any further information should be received  
relative to subject the Bureau will be promptly advised.

61-3497-38



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith copy of a self-explanatory report together with enclosures which were transmitted to the Department by the American Minister at Riga, relative to the American negroes who attended the Fourth Congress of the Third International.

Very truly yours,

*W. L. Hurley*  
*Haw*

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
FEDERAL BUILDING  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

March 17, 1923.

William J. Burns, Esq.,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:-

Re: Claude McKay, Negro Communist.

Since receiving your letter dated March 10, 1923 initialed TFB-J, I have secured a copy of the magazine called "Soviet Russia Pictorial" issue of March 1923, supposed to be the official organ of the Friends of Soviet Russia published at 201 W. 13th Str., New York. On page 48 of this publication, I find a photograph of Claude McKay and a photographic copy of same is enclosed.

Points of entry in this district have been notified and should subject endeavor to enter, this office will be notified.

Very truly yours,

*Lewis E. Sawyer*  
LEWIS E. SAWYER,

Special Agent in Charge, Acting.

61-3497-37

CL

19

This case originated at the Bureau.  
Journal to be made at originating office ONLY.

REPORT MADE AT: Baltimore, Md.	DATE WHEN MADE: Mar. 23, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Mar. 20, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: Harold Nathan
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:  CLAUDE MCKAY (Colored)  COMMUNIST (Delegate to Third International)			

FACTS DEVELOPED:

ATTENTION - MR. HOOVER - 2.

Balto. File

AT BALTIMORE, MD.

Reference is made to Bureau letter noted below. In accordance therewith notices were left at the following offices with the request that this office be notified in the event that subject comes under their observation:

Immigration Service -	For use of Boarding Officers.
Customs Service -	" " " " "
U. S. Shipping Commissioner -	" " " Deputy Commissioners.
U.S. Shipping Board; Sea Service Bureau -	For use of Agents.
Local Police Department -	For general lookout purposes.

In the event that any further information comes to the attention of this office which would tend to locate subject, the Bureau will be immediately notified.

CONCLUDED.

61-3497



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

March 21, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith copy of a self-explanatory report together with enclosures which were transmitted to the Department by the American Minister at Riga, relative to the American negroes who attended the Fourth Congress of the Third International.

Very truly yours,

*W. L. Hurley*  
*Law*

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

The two principal negro delegates were J. Billings, chief of the delegation, and Claude Mackay, his assistant. I do not know their ages, but I am enclosing herewith reproductions of two photographs, one taken from the New York Times of December 31, 1922, showing Claude Mackay and Max Eastman, and the other from the February number of Current History, in which both Mackay and Billings appear. An American who recently arrived here from Moscow saw Mackay there and describes him as being a typical black American negro. It is stated that he is a poet and writer. From the photograph of Billings, it would appear that he is of the mulatto type. I have been unable to obtain the full names of the other two negro delegates, Johnston and Sayesh (or Sascha), nor can I give you a description of them.

It is very doubtful if any of the delegates had American passports. Numerous American citizens have recently proceeded to Soviet Russia without passports, having only certificates issued by Bolshevik agencies in the United States, such as the "Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia" and "Kuzbas".

CL

This case originated at the Bureau.  
 Journal to be made at originating office ONLY.

REPORT MADE AT: Baltimore, Md.	DATE WHEN MADE: Mar. 23, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Mar. 20, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: Harold Nathan
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div>CLAUDE MCKAY (Colored)</div> <div>COMMUNIST (Delegate to Third International)</div> </div>			

FACTS DEVELOPED:

ATTENTION - MR. HOOVER - 2.

Balto. File

AT BALTIMORE, MD.

Reference is made to Bureau letter noted below. In accordance therewith notices were left at the following offices with the request that this office be notified in the event that subject comes under their observation:

Immigration Service -	For use of Boarding Officers.
Customs Service -	" " " " "
U. S. Shipping Commissioner -	" " " Deputy Commissioners.
U.S. Shipping Board; Sea Service Bureau -	For use of Agents.
Local Police Department -	For general lookout purposes.

In the event that any further information comes to the attention of this office which would tend to locate subject, the Bureau will be immediately notified.

CONCLUDED.

61-3497-40

TFB:GA

March 24, 1923.

Mr. E. J. Brennan,  
P. O. Box 141,  
City Hall Station,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:-

Reference is made to previous correspondence concerning CLAUDE MACKAY, negro delegate to the 3rd International at Moscow.

I am now in receipt of a communication from the State Department to the effect that information had been received from the American Legation at Copenhagen advising that Claude Mackay was reported to be leaving for the United States with instructions to organize a colored Soviet. The State Department has requested the Legation to forward more definite information as to the vessel and date of departure. The Legation has replied that they were unable to ascertain facts concerning Mackay's departure but learned that a Bolshevik agent of this name was recently ordered to proceed to The Hague from Norway.

It is the opinion of the representatives of the State Department abroad that if this agent is Claude Mackay he will probably attempt to enter the United States by the West Indies.

Please give this matter appropriate attention.

Very truly yours,

  
Director.

61-3497 -36 outgoing

TFB:GA

March 24, 1923.

Mr. E. J. Brennan,  
P. O. Box 241,  
City Hall Station,  
New York City.

Dear Sir:-

With further reference to CLAUDE MACKAY,  
negro delegate from America to the 3rd International,  
I am enclosing herewith copy of a report submitted by  
Agent Ryan at Cleveland, on the 19th instant, in re  
Mackey.

Your particular attention is invited to the  
statement therein that through a confidential source  
information has been obtained that Mackey has been seen  
at the Rand School and at the Workers Party headquarters  
in New York City within the past month.

Very truly yours,

  
Director.

61-3497 -41

WM. J. BURNS  
DIRECTOR



## Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

TFB:GA

March 26, 1923.

Mr. C. D. McKean,  
P. O. Box 523,  
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir:-

Reference is made to previous correspondence concerning one CLAUDE MACKAY, a negro representative from America at the 3rd International at Moscow, who is reported to be returning to the United States.

Information has just been received through the State Department from the American Legation at Copenhagen to the effect that Claude Mackey was reported to be leaving for the United States with instructions to organize a colored Soviet. The Legation was requested to forward more definite information as to the vessel and date of departure and has now replied that they were unable to ascertain facts concerning Mackey's departure but learned that a Bolshevik agent of this name was recently ordered to proceed to The Hague from Norway.

It is the opinion of the State Department representatives abroad that if this agent is Claude Mackey, he will probably attempt to enter the United States via West Indies.

Appropriate action should be taken with a view to giving this subject a very thorough examination should he attempt to enter the United States through the district covered by your office.

Very truly yours,

*W. J. Burns*  
Director.

61-3497

TfB:CA

March 26, 1923.

Mr. Lawrence Lotherman,  
P. O. Box 3185,  
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:-

Reference is made to previous correspondence concerning one CLAUDE MACKAY, a negro representative from America at the 3rd International at Moscow, who is reported to be returning to the United States.

Information has just been received through the State Department from the American Legation at Copenhagen to the effect that Claude Mackey was reported to be leaving for the United States with instructions to organize a colored Soviet. The Legation was requested to forward more definite information as to the vessel and date of departure and has now replied that they were unable to ascertain facts concerning Mackey's departure but learned that a Bolshevik agent of this name was recently ordered to proceed to the Hague from Norway.

It is the opinion of the State Department representatives abroad that if this agent is Claude Mackey, he will probably attempt to enter the United States via West India.

Appropriate action should be taken with a view to giving this subject a very thorough examination should he attempt to enter the United States through the district covered by your office.

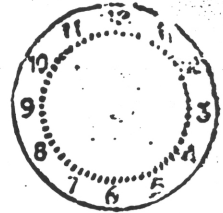
Very truly yours,

  
Director.

61-3497

Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

March 27th, 1923.



DIRECTOR,  
Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D.C.

MAR 27 1923

Dear Sir:-

RE: CLAUDE MACKEY,  
Communist (Negro)  
Delegate to Third International.

Replying to bureau letters dated March 24th  
initialed TTB:GA, both referring to the above subject,  
I wish to call your attention to report of Confidential  
Informant for March 16th re "Workers Party of America".  
in which he states that Housewood and MacKay had returned.

Informant has not as yet seen CLAUDE McKAY, but  
HOUSEWOOD states that he and McKAY returned thru the port  
of New York about March 3rd. This investigation is being  
continued.

Yours very truly,

*Frank X. O'Donnell*

FRANK X. O'DONNELL,  
Acting Special Agent in Charge.

GJS:VD

61-3497-42

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to  
U-2

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith copy of a despatch No. 476,  
dated March 2, 1923, which has been received from  
the American Legation at Riga, relative to an article  
by Trotsky published in the Moscow "IZVESTIA" No. 34,  
of February 15, 1923, in which he answers certain  
questions propounded by the American negro Communist.

This for your information and as being of possible  
interest.

Very truly yours,

*H. L. Hurley*  
*Law*

Enclosure:  
Despatch No. 476.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

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ATTENTION MR. HOOVER Case originated Director. Journal to be made  
by originating office ONLY.

REPORT MADE AT: Houston, Texas	DATE WHEN MADE: 4/1/1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 3/17-30/1923	REPORT MADE BY: A. C. SULLIVAN
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE CLAUDE MACKAY : COPENHAGEN, DENMARK : RADICAL; NEGRO REPRESENTATIVE (Claude McKay??) : : AT 3rd INTERNATIONALE, : AT MOSCOW, RUSSIA.			

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Houston File No.

AT GALVESTON, TEXAS.

On March 18th, 1923, Agent received letter of instruction from Agent in Charge T. B. White, Houston, Texas, to effect that the surveillance and examination of above named Subject was desirable should he attempt to enter the port of Galveston, Agent in Charge White being at that time in receipt of following from the Director:

"I am in receipt of information to the effect that Claude McKay, Communist negro delegate from America to the Third Internationale, is about to leave Copenhagen on his return to the United States.

It is possible that this subject may carry instructions and documents from the Communist Internationale to the Communist in this country, together with a considerable sum of money, and it is therefore desired that should he endeavor to enter the United States through the territory covered by your office, that he be given a very careful examination, and the Bureau promptly advised."

Upon receipt of such instructions Agent at once conferred with official heads of U.S. Immigration Service, U.S. Customs Service, U.S. Public Health Service and the Sheriff's and Police Departments at Galveston, with result that all of such officials gladly offered their cooperation toward the purpose above stated.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

On March 31st, 1923,  
Agent again received instructions  
from Agent in Charge T. B. White,  
Houston, Texas, to the effect that  
further specific endeavor be made for

61-3497

location of Subject should he endeavor to enter United States thru the port of Galveston, Agent in Charge White further advising that he was just then in receipt of supplemental information from the Director, as follows:

"Reference is made to previous correspondence concerning one Claude Mackey, a negro representative from America at the 3rd International at Moscow, who is reported to be returning to the United States. Information has just been received through the State Department from the American Legation at Copenhagen to the effect that Claude Mackey was reported to be leaving for the United States with instructions to organize a colored Soviet.

The Legation was requested to forward more definite information as to the vessel and date of departure and has now replied that they were unable to ascertain facts concerning Mackey's departure, but learned that a Bolshevik Agent of this name was recently ordered to proceed to The Hague from Norway.

It is the opinion of the State Department representatives abroad that if this agent is Claud Mackey, he will probably attempt to enter the United States via West Indies.

Appropriate action should be taken with a view to giving this Subject a very thorough examination should he attempt to enter the United States through the District covered by your office."

Upon receipt of the second set of instructions, as above, Agent at once took up by telephone with all Federal officers at Galveston requesting their cooperation and, likewise, with all local officers who could be reached. Agent has now under way the preparation of 25 copies of such informations regarding subject, that is to say, the material excerpts from same, which copies will be distributed with all Federal and other officers here having to do with waterfront and Marine activities. However, since Agent first received information from Houston office relative to Subject, there has not been any indication that Subject has attempted to enter the United States through either Texas City or Galveston, Texas.

CONTINUED.

Approved & Forwarded

T. B. WHITE,

Chief Agent in Charge

Houston, Texas

ACS:F

GRS:AB. Department of Justice,  
Bureau of Investigation.

Box 696,  
New Orleans, La.,  
April 7, 1923.

Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Attention: Mr. Hoover-2.

Replying to previous correspondence concerning one CLAUDE MACKEY, a negro representative from America at the 3rd International at Moscow, who is reported to be returning to the United States; beg to advise that this matter has been given attention, and should he arrive through any of the ports in this District, a report on same will be made and forwarded to the main office.

Very truly yours,

  
George H. Shanton,  
Agent in Charge.

61-3497

April 9, 1923.

JEE/LAR

Mr. W. L. Hurley,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Hurley:

I have received from you a copy of a dispatch from the American Legation at Copenhagen dated March 8, 1923, No. 375. I note the statement made therein that in an open letter which recently appeared in "Izvestia", Trotsky has published the official instructions given to Mackey for the organization of the black race in the United States.

I am wondering whether it would be possible to secure copies of this letter and, if it is, I shall be very glad to have one of our translators make a translation of the article referred to.

Very truly yours,



Director.

61-3497



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

The following is a note which appeared in the  
Russian Soviet Press Review No. 308 of February 15,  
1923:

"From Moscow. Soviet Press has published  
Trotzky's interview with Negro Communist Delegate  
Mr. Claude Mackey. Discussing present state of  
Negro Race, Trotzky strongly objected to the use  
of Negroes in European wars stating that by  
using black troops European Bourgeoisie thus  
demonstrates its own rottenness and weakness.  
Trotzky has suggested to Mackey some of the prac-  
tical measures which will prevent employing  
negro troops in future wars."

Very truly yours,

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice,  
Washington, D. C.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to your letter of April 9, initialed JEH/LMR, relative to Claude McKay, I wish to advise you that information which has just been received is to the effect that McKay is about to leave for America.

Trotsky apparently has gone so far as to advise him by means of an open letter in the "IZVESTIA" (photostat copy of which is enclosed) of the best ways of rousing the negroes against the white races, whether these are American, British or French.

It is reported that he has finished his studies in the Bolshevik propaganda academy in Russia, and has been charged by the Executive Committee of the Third International with the duty of organizing Communist propaganda among the North American negroes.

The source of the foregoing information has requested that it be kept secret and discreetly used.

Very truly yours,

*W. L. Sullivan*  
*Jaw*

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice.

29

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REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Raleigh, N. C.	4/17/23	4/11/23	F. L. Parker and J. C. Meenins.
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE.			
RE CLAUDE MACKAY, negro.		* RADICAL. *	

FACTS DEVELOPED: At Wilmington, N. C.

Reference is made to Bureau letter, TFB:CA., dated March 26, 1925., in which it is reported that the above named subject was returning to the United States via West Indies.

In this connection Agent called on Ira A. Widler, Inspector of Customs, <sup>and</sup> A. L. McCaskell, Collector of Customs, who assured Agents that the subject matter would receive appropriate attention and that this office would be notified in the event MACEY endeavored to disembark at this port.

The matter in question was also taken up with the Postmaster and Col. George H. Bunker, Commander of the American Legion, who will likewise report to this office in the event MACKEY'S whereabouts becomes known.

This case will be considered closed unless further developments arise as to MACKEY'S whereabouts in this district.

61-3497

No. 411

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK  
Copenhagen, April 26, 1923.

A true copy of  
the signed orig-  
inal.

GN

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,  
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report, referring to the Legation's telegram No. 7, March 15, 3 p.m., that I have today received a communication from the Danish Foreign Office, which reads substantially as follows:

"The Ministry for Foreign Affairs has the honor to inform the Legation of the United States that the Danish State Police finds no person of the name of Claude Mackey registered in their books as having entered Denmark, and that, according to the best of their knowledge, no person holding an American passport has

Moreover, the Danish Legation at The Hague has informed the Foreign Office here that during the past year no Danish authority, authorized to grant visas, has permitted any negro to enter Denmark under a visa. Six months ago two negroes, coming from Coblenz, calling themselves musicians by profession, requested visas at the Danish Legation at The Hague, which were refused them."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

John Dynoley Prince.

INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED FROM ACTING SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE L.E.SAWYER  
Originated at Washington Bureau - "Ilw. File

REPORT-MADE AT: Milwaukee, Wis.	DATE WHEN MADE: May 1, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Apr. 20, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: Earl L. Dole
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: CLAUDE McEAY Communist Negro Delagate to Third International Communist Party of America. United Activities.			

FACTS DEVELOPED: At Sault Ste Marie, Mich.

Reference is made to letter from the Director dated March 10, 1923 initialed TFB:J, also to report of Special Agent L. E. Sawyer, Milwaukee, with which was enclosed copy of photograph of subject obtained by the Milwaukee office.

R. H. BROWNDYKE, Inspector in Charge, U. S. Immigration Service, Federal Bldg., Sault Ste Marie, Mich. stated that the Immigration Inspectors under his charge have been instructed to keep a sharp lookout for subject since receipt of letter from the Milwaukee Bureau Office enclosing copies of photograph of subject, but to date there have been no developments.

61-3497

INSTRUCTIONS RECEIVED FROM ACTING SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE L.E. SAWYER  
Originated at Washington Bureau - Milwaukee File

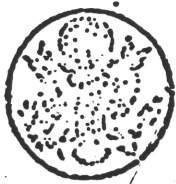
REPORT-MADE AT: Milwaukee, Wis.	DATE WHEN MADE: May 1, 1923	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Apr. 20, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: Earl L. Dole
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61-3497-64



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

May 12, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Please refer to your letter of February 10, 1923, initialed TFB:CA regarding an inquiry of the Translation Section of your Department concerning the identity of the delegate to the Fourth Congress of the International, Sasha or Sayesh.

I have recently been advised by the Legation at Riga that a great amount of confusion has been caused by various ways of spelling the name of this delegate, due to the variations which can occur in transcribing the name from Russian to English script. It has been rendered Sasha, Sayesh, and Sascha. From all the information gathered, it appears that all these renderings refer to the same person, who is listed as an American delegate.

The fact that he spoke about the necessity for propaganda among the American negroes, would make it seem most likely that he spoke as an American.

Very truly yours,

*W. J. Hurley*

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director, Bureau of Investigation,  
Department of Justice.

190-1781-6



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1923.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to previous correspondence relative to Claude Mackey, the well known negro agitator, I enclose herewith copy of Despatch No. 411, dated April 25, 1923, which has been received from the American Legation at Copenhagen.

Further information which has just been received from London is to the effect that Mackey, having passed through the Propaganda and Agitation School in Moscow will shortly leave for America carrying on propaganda among the coloured element.

I am in possession of photographs of this individual which will be transmitted to you as soon as I am able to have copies made.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:  
No. 411.

William J. Burns, Esquire,  
Director Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice.  
Washington, D. C.

FLP-M

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

Raleigh

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:

Charlotte, N. C.

DATE WHEN MADE:

6/15/23

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

6/11/23

REPORT MADE BY:

F. L. Parker

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

CLAUDE MACKEY (negro)  
(Also spelled McKay)

RADICAL

FACTS DEVELOPED:

ATTENTION - MR. HOOVER - 2. Charlotte file

At Charleston, S. C.

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated 3/26/23, initialed TFB:GA, reporting that CLAUDE MACKEY, negro radical, was returning to the United States, via West Indies.

In this connection, Agent called on C. O. Brown, Inspector of Customs, who stated that appropriate attention would be given by that Department, and this Office notified in the event MACKEY endeavored to disembark at this port.

61-3497-67

FR. JR.

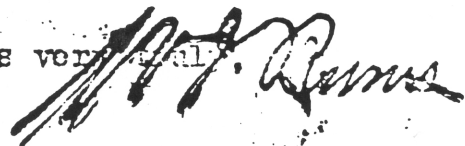
July 21, 1933.

Mr. W.D. Hurley,  
State Dept.,  
Washington.

Dear Mr. Hurley -

According to information which I have received from a strictly confidential source, CLAUDE MC KAY, the well known radical of New York City, is contemplating going to Europe next month.

Yours very truly,



Director.

61-3497

SEPT. 29, 1935.

AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

The African Blood Brotherhood has not been active during the week as a scheduled meeting had to be called off because of the illness of Grace Campbell, one of the prime movers in the organization.

Cyril Briggs is still busy in an endeavor to put into operation his co-operative store scheme, but appears to lack sufficient money to start it. Briggs is still getting out the "Crusader Service" and the issue marked for release on September 24th states that Claude McKay, the negro poet and radical, is at present in Germany for the Crusader Service and that he will write his impressions and lecture on his return to this country.

In the issue above referred to, Briggs quotes a letter purporting to have been written by Leon Trotsky to McKay on the negro question. The letter in part reads as follows:

JOSEPH C. TUCKER

SPECIAL REPORT

SEPT. 29, 1935.

"The colored workers themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened so that they realize when they help French imperialism to subjugate Europe they are helping to subjugate themselves, in that they are supporting the domination of French in the African and other colonies. \*\*\*\*\*"

"In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste resumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize their fellow workers and fighting comrades in the negroes. Compers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of white and colored workers alike. The fight against this policy must be taken up from different sides, and conducted on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary negroes.

"What forms of organization are most suitable for the movement among the American negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organization will be found, as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

"With communist greetings,

L. TROTSKY."

Instructions: Edward J. Brennan, 3pl. 1st. in Ch :e-IV file

REPORT MADE AT: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 10-22-23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 10-20	REPORT MADE BY: Earl J. Titus
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: IN RE: AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD Negro Radical Activities.			

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Agent today visited various places in Harlem, but did not learn anything of value.

I later went to the home of Miss Grace Campbell, 206 West 133d Street, and was informed by her that she had received a letter from Claude McKay, who is in Russia, stating that Russia had her eyes on the colored people of this country, and the colored people should get together and show some spirit and form a Communist group, and stand out from the white people, so they could be recognized. He stated they would not get anything by coming up from the south and falling into the hands of the politicians, but should get together and make one mass, in order to get power. He further stated the Communist Party of Russia has a great deal of faith in the colored people of America, and they should get a man of Garvey's type for their leader.

McKay further stated he expected to be in France in a few weeks, but never expected to return to America, but would keep in touch with his friends here and keep them posted, and would assist any good movement that might arise.

I was unable to secure McKay's address from Miss Campbell.

Instructions of Sr. Sgt. in Charge Brennan: File No.

New York, N.Y.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

REPORT MADE AT

NEW YORK, N.Y.

DATE WHEN MADE

11/16/23

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE

11/12/23

REPORT MADE BY

EARL E. TITUS



TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE

RE: AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD  
Negro medical Activities.

FACTS DEVELOPED

Agent saw Mr. J.A. Domingo on 135th Street and went with him to the home of Cyril Briggs, 213 West 135th Str. and while there Domingo said he was in Philadelphia with Otto L. Euiswood and while there made a speech in one of the churches there. He said it was a little old church and that it was crowded. He said Euiswood made a fine speech and succeeded in convincing his audience, and if given the chance would make one of the best organizers there is. He said housing conditions in that city are in bad shape and Euiswood got a committee of that church together for the purpose of calling all the local ministers together to see if they couldn't get better living conditions.

Briggs said he met Coles and had a talk with him and found him a pretty nice chap and there was no truth in what he had been told about him.

Domingo said he saw in the Chicago Defender that DuBoise was to go to West Africa.

Domingo further said that Garvey was gaining ground.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

11/16/23

AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

EARL E. TITUS

in his new movement and after he gets a few of those grafters out of his order, he will have one of the foremost organizations in the country.

He said Garvey learned a great deal while in jail and had time to think over his mistakes.

He said that the U.A.A.C.P. is a good organization and are getting good results out Garvey has the ability of organizing. He said that Garvey in his trip out west made a good many friends who are now willing to help him.

Briggs said he had received a letter from Claude McKay to the effect that he was in Germany and that he was to stay there until something happened.

CHICAGO FILE NO.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Chicago Bureau Office.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY.

REPORT MADE AT: Chicago, Ill.	DATE WHEN MADE: Jan. 18, 1924	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Jan. 15-16, '24	REPORT MADE BY: EARL E. TITUS
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD RADICAL NEGRO ACTIVITIES.			

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT CHICAGO ILLINOIS:

Agent covered a meeting held at the home of EDWARD L. DOTY, No. 3638 Ellis Park, Apr. 3, Chicago, Illinois. This meeting was called at 8:45 P.M., and closed at 11:00 P.M. There were 13 persons present.

In the absence of GORDON OWENS - MR. DOTY acted as chairman. After the regular routine of business, Mr. Doty gave a talk and in his remarks stated: "That there are only two things the negro wants and that is opportunity, and justice, which are fast coming to him, if he will only meet the opportunity when it presents itself. That this Capitalist United States has made a great many mistakes, and one of them is - toward the negro, but the negro is waking up, and has begun to think. The other mistake is - toward the working man. That they are now trying to rectify themselves; that here of late they have started what is called the KLU KLUX KLAN; that the negro was driven out of the South, as you know, and they were received in the North by the Jews, and the Catholics, and the Capitalists have absolutely failed, and are now trying to get the negro back in the South again, but the negro has begun to think! and to awaken. That a SANNITIC Conference is to be held in this city beginning the 12th of February next. The African Blood Brotherhood, and the Workers Party will be

well represented there. We are working quietly, and slowly, and we will spread our propaganda in this meeting, and we will give them time to think, as we know that KELLY MILLER is a Communist in his heart, but is working slowly, and it is this great scheme that will get the colored people to think, and join our party, and in that way we will be able to get some recognition, as we, as Communists, are all of one race - the human race, and we will be able to join any trade union in this, or any other country, who are Communists." He further said "Look at Claude McKay in Soviet Russia today, he is one of our group, and he is received with open arms, and there is no discrimination."

MR. DOTY further said "that in this meeting of the SANCHEZ, to be held in Chicago, it will give them one of the best opportunities to start their propaganda that they have ever had, and he was sure that it would have its effect."

CONTINUED.

HN:JWM

January 26, 1924.

MEMORANDUMIN RE: CLAUDE MCKAY

Under date of September 22, 1919 Subject was reported to be the writer of several extremely radical articles for the "Negro World", advocating the extension of "bolshevism" in the United States as a means of obtaining "freedom" for the negro.

In February 1921 he was reported as being a member of the editorial board of the "Liberator". He remained an associate editor of the "Liberator" for several years. The "Liberator" was always a periodical voicing radical views and is now an official organ of the Workers' Party being controlled and operated by that organization, the Workers' Party of America.

In March 1921, subject was reported as having formerly been associated with Sylvia Pankhurst in her work with the "Dreadnaught".

Subject is apparently a poet, or at least he has written considerable verse. He is a native of Jamaica, British West Indies. The date of his entry into this country is not definitely known, but it is

61-3497

- 2 -

thought he came here during the year 1917. He lived in New York about two years when he went to London, returning apparently late in 1920, or early in 1921. In July 1921 he is reported as being connected with the African Blood Brotherhood, generally accepted arm of the Communists in the work among negroes.

Subject has been extremely intimate with Cyril Briggs and W. Huiswoud, organizers and leading spirits in the African Blood Brotherhood.

McKay's views, beliefs, principles, et cetera may properly be inferred from quotations from his writings, and the following are shown:

In the "Liberator" issue of June 1921 appears an article by subject entitled "How Black Sees Green and Red", excerpts from which are as follow:

"But it is with the proletarian revolutionists of the world that my whole spirit revolts.....  
The yearning of the American Negro especially, can only find expression and realization in the class struggle....when a Negro is proscribed on account of his color, when the lynching fever

- 3 -

seizes the South and begins to break out even in the North, the black race feels and thinks as a unit. But it has no sense of its unity as a class - or as a part, rather, of the American working-class, and so it is powerless. The Negro must acquire class-consciousness."

In the "Crisis" a negro publication with radical tendencies, issue of July 1921, appears a letter from McKay, excerpts from which are as follows:

"I am surprised and sorry that in your editorial, 'The Drive', published in THE CRISIS for May, you should leap out of your sphere to sneer at the Russian Revolution, the greatest event in the history of humanity; much greater than the French Revolution, which is held up as a wonderful achievement to Negro children and students in white and black schools. For American Negroes the indisputable and outstanding fact of the Russian Revolution is that a mere handful of Jews, much less in ratio to the number of Negroes in the American population, have attained, through the Revolution, all the political and social rights that were denied to them under the regime of the Czar."

From "The Liberator", issue of July 1921, the following is taken, having been written by Subject.

**"ENSLAVED**

Oh when I think of my long-suffering race  
For weary centuries despised, oppressed,  
Enslaved and lynched, denied a human place  
In the great life line of the Christian West;  
And in the Black Land disinherited,  
Robbed in the ancient country of its birth,--